/82 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

137 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that
[684] Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good."
[563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

/70 cont./

proboque, deteriora sequor," is a truth from the days in the Garden of Eden up to the present. And this is because from the desire to the deed, from the word to the act, there is a great gap. "It is necessary to confess that, even when we know what is good, we do not follow it, some out of laziness and others because we postpone virtue in favor of pleasure," many centuries ago the Latin poet, the Greek Euripedes, wrote.

151. We recognize, thus, the deficiencies of the Indians in the practice of good, but we affirm roundly their knowledge of morality. This would be a good occasion to repeat what was said by Msgr. Le Roy and previously referred to, but I am going to copy, rather, what Father Topinard says in his /Antropologia /Anthropology/, so that no one will think that we are talking just for the sake of talking or beating the air.

"Man," says the French writer, "is in no way distinct from animals as regards family: he is monogamous or polygamous and woman polyandrous like them.... Man unites, as they do, without scruple with his own relatives or relatives by marriage.... The father is the master of the life of his children, practices infanticide at will, without having to be circumspect, just as the son later gets rid of his old and infirm parents, who are a burden to him." This is what is called reciting by heart, not to say without understanding.

577 Much to the contrary, lying, stealing, disobeying parents on the part of minors, simple adultery (not to mention incest), simple homicide (not to mention parricide and infanticide), etc., seem to be firmly condemned in the daily life and the oral literature of the Indians.

● 575 152. Let us speak in particular of polygamy. With regard to this question not long ago an unperceptive journalist wrote that we missionaries had managed to clothe the Indians, but that we had not managed to clothe them in our Christian morality. With statistics in hand we can prove that polygamy, in spite of not being clearly reproved in the natives' moral code and in spite of having been quite widely practiced in

/70 cont./

595 ancient times, today does not reach the figure among the Pemón Indians of even three per cent. This is due, and we must recognize it, to the leavening of Christianity which the missionaries have worked into this native dough for several generations from Brazil and the Guianas. Thus, in all, concerning the polygamy of the Indians, we must say with Msgr. Jorge Caruana that, as they practiced it, it is preferable to the prevalent pandering and divorce which is sanctioned /71/ in so many countries, since the latter certainly is polygamy and polyandry in fact although not simultaneous but successive.

000 153. Let there still be heard this other statement by Topinard: "Only man must have the notion of duty. Could this be true?... His most certain criterion, 'do not do unto others what you do not want them to do unto you,' is as applicable to animals as it is to man. The dog knows that in order not to be bitten he must not to bite, and he operates accordingly. He also has his morality." The dog neither knows such a thing nor learns it as morality. In any case, this is only the negative part of morality, thou shall not hurt. Where is the positive part, thou shalt love, kindness to strangers, self-sacrifice to meet the needs of others?

I believe that the curiosity of the one who asks this question must be satisfied. We shall not get into minute details because the nature of this publication does not allow it and because we believe that what we have said is sufficient for those who are going to the Indians in search of the truth and without preconceptions.

P
601

Sib of the same sex	(Older	(Male -	rüiko
	(	(Female -	pasi
	(Younger	-	akon
Sib of the opposite sex	(Brother of a female	-	pi(rika)
	(Sister of a male	-	paruchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

P
595 Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

P
M
601 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is
171 not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	(Father - papai	pa-pa
	(Mother - paikōi[169]	ma-ma
General	(Father - yun	(y)un
	(Mother - san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

169 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[743] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

Division of Labor

511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] [185] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a [854] [404] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------